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SPECIAL MEMORANDUM

HAVANA'S INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTING

31 JANUARY 1963

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INCITING TO REVOLT IN LATIN
AMERICA

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HAVANA'S INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTING

I. HOURS ON THE AIR

The Cuban Government uses three vehicles for its radio propaganda to audiences in other countries: "Radio Free Dixie," "The Friendly Voice of Cuba," and "Radio Habana Cuba."

+ "Radio Free Dixie" is a one-hour weekly transmission in English to Negroes in the United States, broadcast over the facilities of Havana's 50-kilowatt transmitter "Radio Progreso" and its network of eight relay stations situated throughout Cuba. Robert F. Williams, the North Carolina Negro who fled to Cuba to avoid prosecution for alleged kidnapping, is the director and chief commentator of this program, which is heard every Friday night at 10 p.m. EST. Using "Jazz" terminology and frequently crude language, Williams tells his "oppressed North American brothers" that they are going to have to "fill a lot of jails and a lot of graves, and not just with black boys, either," in order to achieve "freedom and social justice." Assisting Williams are newscaster Carlos Moore and "musical hostess" (disc jockey and commentator) Jo Salas. "Radio Free Dixie" is heard very well in southern Florida and can probably be heard in many areas of the southern United States without elaborate technical facilities.

+ "The Friendly Voice of Cuba," formerly a popular Havana radio station known as "Radio Mambi," began broadcasting in May 1962. Although this powerful station does not so announce, its transmissions are apparently intended for listeners in the United States. "The Friendly Voice of Cuba" broadcasts from 6:00 in the morning to 1:00 a.m. EST. All of its programs, except for four seven-minute Spanish news shows, are in English. Its approach is a shade more subtle than that of "Radio Free Dixie." It is heard best in southern Florida, but can also be heard in many parts of the southern United States.

+ The official international service called "Radio Habana Cuba" is considered to be the chief external radio propaganda outlet of the Cuban Government. More commonly known as "Radio Havana," this station broadcasts weekly a total of 187 hours and 50 minutes of propaganda in languages which include English, French, Arabic, Portuguese, Spanish, and Haitian Creole, to listeners in Europe, the Mediterranean area, and the Western Hemisphere. "Radio Havana" is under the supervision of Marcos Behemaras, deputy director (for international broadcasting) of the Instituto Cubano de Radiodifusion. In addition to the normal information

and entertainment, it transmits special programs--"sponsored" by so-called exile groups--the evident intent of which is to encourage subversion of the incumbent governments of Peru, Guatemala, and the Dominican Republic. Programs with similarly subversive intent were formerly beamed to Nicaragua and Honduras; these were discontinued in September 1962.

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Although first observed [REDACTED] on 14 March 1961, the Cuban international service was not officially inaugurated until May Day of that year, when it began presenting a relatively modest schedule of programs in English, French, and Spanish for Europe and the Americas for a total of 42 hours a week. Since then, "Radio Havana" has grown by leaps and bounds, finally emerging as Latin America's number one international broadcaster. Its time on the air is as follows, in hours per week:

Arabic to the Mediterranean area	- 5 hours 15 minutes
Haitian Creole to Haiti	- 7 hours
English to Europe	- 9 hours 20 minutes
English to the Americas	- 17 hours 30 minutes
French to Europe	- 9 hours 20 minutes
French to Canada	- 3 hours 30 minutes
French to the Mediterranean	- 3 hours 30 minutes
Portuguese to Brazil	- 7 hours
Spanish to Europe & the Mediterranean	- 16 hours 55 minutes
Spanish to the Americas	- 108 hours 30 minutes

The technical facilities of "Radio Havana" are at a transmitter site about 23 miles southwest of Havana. At present, no more than four shortwave transmitters are being used, but in the past as many as five have been observed on the air at the same time. These transmitters range in power from 10 to 100 kilowatts, enabling "Radio Havana" to be heard all over the world. Programs are sent from studios to the transmitter site by means of microwave relays.

In addition to the regularly scheduled international service, these transmitters have been known to broadcast special programs in order to take advantage of particular political situations. When serious disorders broke out in the Dominican Republic in late 1961, for example, broadcasts emanating from a self-styled "clandestine" station called "Radio Revolucion del Movimiento Catorce de Junio" demanded the overthrow of the Dominican government. The station went off the air after about a week, but not before direction finder (DF) bearings and other technical clues indicated that the Bauta transmitter site was the point of origin.

"Radio Havana" announces that it makes its facilities available to political groups from other Latin American nations so that they can beam programs

back to their homelands. These programs are now broadcast as follows:

The Peruvian Anti-Imperialist Struggle Movement (Movimiento Peruano de la Lucha Anti-Imperialista) broadcasts the "La Voz del Peru Revolucionaria" program to Peru on Sundays at 7 to 7:15 p.m. EST;

The Guatemalan Information Committee (Comite Guatemalteco de Information) transmits the "Mensaje a Guatemala" program to Guatemala on Tuesdays and Saturdays at 9 to 9:15 p.m. EST;

The Dominican Liberation Movement (Movimiento de Liberacion Dominicana) broadcasts the "Patria Libre" program to the Dominican Republic on Wednesdays and Fridays at 9 to 9:15 p.m. EST.

Similar programs were beamed to Nicaragua and Honduras, but were dropped in September 1962 in favor of a "Radio Havana" program called "Trinchera Americana," now heard nightly from 9:30 to 9:40 p.m. EST. This program is more flexible in that it attacks the regimes of any Latin American nation, changing its target from night to night according to the exigencies of any given prevailing political situation.

II. SAMPLES OF PROPAGANDA INCITING TO REVOLT IN LATIN AMERICA

Reproduced below is a selection of some of the more inflammatory statements that have appeared in Havana broadcasts to Latin America as a whole (Section A) and in special programs tailored for listeners in Peru, Guatemala, and the Dominican Republic (Section B). The quotations are arranged in reverse chronological order. Most of the statements are taken from programs broadcast within the past two months, with a sampling from the spring of 1962 included for purposes of comparison. Passages not included in quotation marks are paraphrases.

A. Broadcasts for Latin America in General (Radio Havana in Spanish to the Americas)

23 January 1963:

The People's animosity against Betancourt "has been growing with each passing day. Already there has been an elaboration of revolutionary tactics, the application of which is causing the very foundations of the spurious government to tremble. The National Liberation Front is turning out to be the most effective executor of the will of the Venezuelan people at this time. The slogan of the people is 'A Complete Change of Government!'"

12 January 1963:

"The situation in El Salvador is disastrous in every respect; the people are on the verge of a complete collapse or a violent reaction. The more the Salvadorans are oppressed, the more they strike back for their liberation, particularly since the Cuban revolution.... The masses are acquiring a great awareness of their strength and the possibility of its effective use, thanks to measures like the United Revolutionary Action Front, which declares itself to be the organization created by the people to carry out the revolution the peoples need."

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9 January 1963:

"The Paraguayan people are now determined to get rid of the government, which has ignored the most elementary rights, which has turned the country over to the insatiable voracity of the monopolies, and which is preparing an electoral farce in order to remain in power against the people's wishes. However, the people of Paraguay have decided to acquire their freedoms at all costs, and the crimes committed by Stroessner to dissuade them will be useless."

25 December 1962, quoting a statement attributed to Ecuadoran communists:

"The domestic political crisis is worsening. Administrative ineptness of the dominating classes is becoming more glaring. Contradictions among the dominating class are increasing. And servility to Yankee imperialism is spreading. The real solution to this crisis is: To strengthen the people of all sectors in their struggle for their rights; to create a solid front with the masses; to overthrow the imperialists and oligarchs from power; and to set up a people's authority able to carry out a program of radical reforms."

23 December 1962, from a speech by Education Minister Armando Hart:

"We want every American nation and every man in Latin America to fight for his country, fight for his nation, fight for his national independence. This is what we want and what we desire, and this is what imperialism does not want. It does not want it because it knows that sooner or later this struggle will lead to liberation from imperialism, and it was the liberation from imperialism which guided Cuba to socialism, because liberation from imperialism naturally leads to socialism. What we want is for the people of Latin America to fight for their country and for the men of Latin America to fight for their country."

24 November 1962:

"Venezuelan events in recent days have lost none of their intensity. Given the vigor of the clashes between the Venezuelan patriots--perfectly organized for action in the fields and in the cities--and Romulo Betancourt's traitorous forces, decisive episodes should be expected within a few days. Venezuela is the weakest trench in the imperialist front in the Americas. Let it not be forgotten that the traitorous regime in Caracas, despite all appearances, is under fire from a great popular offensive."

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The following quotations are taken from broadcasts in the spring of 1962:

1 May 1962, speech by Ernesto Guevara:

"Sometimes some comrade in Latin America asks us what we think of this or that place, how shall the problem be faced in this or that place. We always answer that there is no set way to seize power and that the working class, helped and strengthened by the peasant class, must never seek the most bloody battle, because it will cost thousands and thousands and millions of lives of their sons. But the seizure of power by the working class is a historic necessity, and no one can oppose history.... The years ahead, comrades, will be the scene in all of America of constant, fratricidal struggles."

8 April 1962, commentary on Ecuador:

"As of today, Arosemena, the people are rising up in arms against you, your infamous coalition government, the reactionary elements of the army, the bosses, the powerful, the exploiters, and above all, imperialism, in order to fulfill the slogans that you proclaimed and betrayed: land reform, tax reform, and national dignity. The people, Arosemena, never forget their word."

4 April 1962:

"The present government of Ydigoras Fuentes must be forced to abandon office, and the Congress, composed mainly of deputies who held office as a result of fraud and imposition, must be dissolved."

22 March 1962:

"Cuba has said, and has repeated a thousand times, that it is not necessary to export revolution, because each of the oligarchical, tyrannical, and despotic governments under which America suffers is itself preparing the conditions necessary for the people to rise up against it. And the people who suffer those proimperialist, bloody governments do not need to have parachutists drop into their mountains. They themselves seek solutions for their problems. The only thing of which Cuba can be accused is of having opened the way, of having won its freedom fighting in guerrilla warfare against a cruel dictatorship."

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B. Special Broadcasts

1. To Peru

21 January 1963:

"Our standard must be a national liberation, a transforming liberation, a transforming revolution.... The people of Peru know only too well that elections will not solve their problems, because Peru needs a complete change, a radical transformation of its economic, political, and social structures.... Therefore we must continue to fight, not for small or partial victories but for a transformation of Peruvian society, for the destruction of capitalism."

7 January 1963:

"The military government junta may rest completely assured that there will be revolution in Peru and the people will take over.... We wonder if among the members of the armed forces there is not a group of truly honorable and patriotic men who love the people of Peru and are ready to place their weapons at the service of the people.... This is a year which will mark the beginning of a new era in Peru. Now is the time to resist with greater force and vigor. Strike against abuse, strike against violations.... The strike is the most powerful weapon. The strike can do more than can rifles and bullets."

2 April 1962:

"The Peruvian people know perfectly well that the Cuban revolution represents a hope for us and for all the nations of America. It is not enough to call oneself a revolutionary or support the revolution; it is necessary to adopt a revolutionary attitude."

2. To the Dominican Republic:

19 January 1963:

"The Dominican Liberation Movement calls on the entire nation to demonstrate its repudiation of the alleged visitors (two U.S. warships), which are coming to outrage the country and to be, suspiciously, present precisely when the people are filling the streets in their struggle against the imperialist U.S. Government. Everyone, forward to the fight for freedom, for national independence, and social progress!"

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15 January 1963:

"The people must come again into the streets and demand that the emergency law be revoked immediately.... Citizens, all to the fight to end the repressive and antidemocratic measures!"

31 December 1962:

"The experience of this year makes obvious to all the need to carry out the national antifeudal, anti-imperialist revolution. To carry out this revolution means to destroy the reactionary, antinational, and despotic power of the large landowners and the great bourgeoisie in league with foreign imperialism."

26 December 1962:

"The situation can be changed only by the grassroots mobilization of the popular masses, which will bring about the proper conditions to carry out an anti-imperialist, antifeudal revolution of emancipation."

3 April 1962:

"The time will come--and it is sooner than you think--when the popular masses of our country, the massacred, tortured, starving, and irridentist masses, will know how to settle accounts with every one of their oppressors. ... To the streets! To arms! Down with the illegal Trujillista Council of State!"

21 March 1962:

"The Trujillista Council of State is not competent to resolve the serious national problems in the interest of the country. That is why it must be overthrown and replaced by a government of the people whose hand will not tremble in liberating the country from feudal extortion and Yankee imperialist domination."

3. To Guatemala:

5 January 1963:

"The workers and employees, by means of strikes, and the peasants, by starting a big resistance movement everywhere, must make their strength felt so as to accentuate the popular nature of the struggle and pave the way to revolution. The Guatemalan people repudiate Ydigoras and his clique."

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